

## Message Text

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ORIGIN IO-14

INFO OCT-01 CIAE-00 CU-02 INR-07 NSAE-00 AID-05 USIA-06  
NEA-10 ISO-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 L-03 NSC-05  
PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 AF-10 ARA-10 EA-07  
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DRAFTED BY IO/UNESCO:RCHEATER:JU

APPROVED BY IO:GADALLEY

IO/UNA - JTEFFT

IO/EX - SCUMMINS

IO/EX/IR - WVDENNING

IO/UCS - RKNOBBE

IO/UNP - RMAXIM

NEA/IAI - GKULICK

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY

USMISSION GENEVA

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY BONN

INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY

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NESCO

E.O. 11652:N/A

TAGS:UNESCO, AORG (YOUNG, ANDREW; M'BOW, AMADOU MAHTAR)

SUBJECT:UNESCO: BRIEFING PAPER FOR CALL OF AMBASSADOR  
ANDREW YOUNG ON DIRECTOR GENERAL M'BOW, JULY 21, 1977

REF: PARIS 20440

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LONDON PLEASE PASS AMBASSADOR YOUNG OPENING BUSINESS MONDAY,  
JULY 18.

1. FOLLOWING CONSTITUTES BRIEFING PAPER FOR AMBASSADOR  
ANDREW YOUNG TO USE FOR HIS CALL ON UNESCO DIRECTOR GENERAL  
AMADOU MAHTAR M'BOW, ON OR ABOUT JULY 21, 1977.

2. M'BOW, SENEGALESE AND MUSLIM, WAS MINISTER OF EDUCATION  
IN SENEGAL, AND SENEGALESE MEMBER OF THE UNESCO EXECUTIVE  
BOARD BEFORE ENTERING THE UNESCO SECRETARIAT, WHERE HE

SERVED AS ASSISTANT DG FOR EDUCATION. HE SPEAKS ONLY LIMITED ENGLISH, AND YOU WILL REQUIRE AN INTERPRETER TO REALLY GET THROUGH TO HIM. M'BOW HAS KEEN POLITICAL SENSE, BUT HE IS AN IMPATIENT LISTENER WHO PREFERS TO USE THE OPPORTUNITY OF A MEETING WITH A HIGH RANKING VISITOR TO GET HIS (M'BOW'S) VIEWS ACROSS. M'BOW IS HIGHLY INTELLIGENT, DEDICATED, AND HAS A SENSE OF MISSION AS A SPOKESMAN OF THE THIRD WORLD, PARTICULARLY AS REGARDS THE DEFINITION OF A NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER. HE IS SENSITIVE TO ANY SLIGHT, REAL OR IMAGINED, TO HIMSELF OR UNESCO. HE BELIEVES STRONGLY IN PERSONAL DIPLOMACY, AND IS LIKELY TO TAKE LITERALLY EVEN CASUAL INVITATIONS FOR FURTHER PERSONAL DISCUSSIONS OR CONTACTS.

3. ALTHOUGH M'BOW HAS LEARNED A GREAT DEAL ABOUT THE AMERICAN SCENE IN THE PAST THREE YEARS, HIS UNDERSTANDING IS STILL IMPERFECT. THE UNITED STATES WAS THE FIRST MAJOR POWER TO COME OUT PUBLICLY IN SUPPORT OF HIS CANDIDACY FOR THE UNESCO DIRECTOR GENERALSHIP, TO WHICH OFFICE HE WAS ELECTED IN NOVEMBER 1974 FOR A SIX YEAR TERM. HOWEVER, THE CUT-OFF OF OUR DUES FOLLOWING THE ANTI-ISRAELI ACTIONS OF THE 1974 GENERAL CONFERENCE PUT A LIMITED OFFICIAL USE  
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SEVERE STRAIN ON UNESCO, AND M'BOW AT TIMES SEEMED TO FEEL THAT THE U. S. ACTION WAS AIMED AT HIM PERSONALLY AS A SYMBOL OF THIRD WORLD LEADERSHIP OF A MAJOR UN AGENCY. HE IS UNCERTAIN OF THE REAL ATTITUDE OF THE U. S. GOVERNMENT TOWARD BLACK AFRICANS, TOWARD HIM PERSONALLY, AND TOWARD UNESCO.

#### 4. CHECK LIST

-- M'BOW'S COOPERATION - THANK HIM FOR HIS STRONG LEADERSHIP AT NAIROBI LAST NOVEMBER, WHICH KEPT THE 19TH GENERAL CONFERENCE FOCUSED ON UNESCO'S SUBSTANTIVE WORK AND HELD POLITICAL DIVERSIONS TO A MINIMUM.

-- UNITED STATES ATTITUDE - ASSURE M'BOW THAT THE UNITED STATES REGARDS UNESCO AS A VIABLE MECHANISM FOR THE ORDERLY, PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF PROBLEMS OF A GLOBAL SCOPE IN EDUCATION, SCIENCE, CULTURE AND THE FREE FLOW OF INFORMATION, AND THAT WE ARE MAKING A STRONG EFFORT TO PLAY A MORE CREATIVE AND POSITIVE ROLE IN THE ORGANIZATION.

-- MASS MEDIA - REMIND HIM THAT ANY UNESCO ACTION THAT, RIGHTLY OR WRONGLY, IS INTERPRETED BY THE AMERICAN MEDIA AS SUPPORTING THE CONCEPT OF GOVERNMENT CONTROL OVER THE MEDIA WILL HAVE A SEVERELY, PERHAPS CRITICALLY, DAMAGING EFFECT ON U.S.-UNESCO RELATIONS.

-- HUMAN RIGHTS - ASSURE M'BOW THAT THE UNITED STATES WILL SUPPORT HIM WHOLEHEARTEDLY IN HIS EFFORTS TO INCREASE UNESCO'S EFFECTIVENESS IN SECURING RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS.

-- ISRAEL - EXPRESS THE HOPE THAT ARAB-ISRAELI QUESTIONS CAN BE KEPT IN THE BACKGROUND AS LONG AS POSSIBLE, CERTAINLY UNTIL M'BOW HAS A CHANCE TO EXPLORE WITH THE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE  
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PRESENT ISRAELI GOVERNMENT THE QUESTION OF HIS SENDING A TEAM INTO THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES.

-- PERSONNEL - REMIND M'BOW THAT BOTH THE CONGRESS AND THE ADMINISTRATION ARE TAKING AN INCREASED INTEREST IN GETTING AMERICANS INTO POSITIONS IN UNESCO  
HERE THEIR  
VIEWS ON POLICY FORMULATION WILL GET A HEARING.

#### 5. ISSUES/TALKING POINTS

##### A. MASS MEDIA

(1) SOVIETS ARE PUSHING TO GET MEMBER STATES OF UNESCO TO ADOPT A FORMAL DECLARATION THAT WILL DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY SUPPORT THE CONCEPT OF GOVERNMENT CONTROL OF THE MEDIA. AT ONE TIME, IT APPEARED THAT THEY HAD WIDE-SPREAD LDC SUPPORT. THE UNESCO SECRETARIAT, ALTHOUGH IT STATES IT HAS NO POLICY OF ITS OWN AND IS ONLY REFLECTING VIEWS OF MEMBER GOVERNMENTS, USUALLY SEEMS TO COME DOWN ON THE WRONG SIDE OF THE ISSUE, AT LEAST IN THE VIEW OF SOME AMERICAN PRIVATE MEDIA OFFICIALS. A DRAFT DECLARATION THAT WAS ALMOST TOTALLY UNACCEPTABLE TO THE UNITED STATES WAS ADOPTED AT AN INTERGOVERNMENTAL MEETING IN DECEMBER 1975 AND PRESENTED TO THE 19TH GENERAL CONFERENCE OF UNESCO (NAIROBI, OCTOBER-NOVEMBER 1976) BUT WAS SENT BACK FOR REWORKING AND FURTHER CONSULTATION AT THE 20TH GENERAL CONFERENCE IN 1978. WE EXPECT THAT IT WILL BE COMPLETELY REWRITTEN BY THE UNESCO SECRETARIAT, BUT WE HAVE NOT BEEN ABLE TO OBTAIN ANY INFORMATION ON EXACTLY WHAT IS HAPPENING WITH IT.

(2) AMERICAN MEDIA, PARTICULARLY THE PRINT MEDIA, HAVE  
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FOCUSED GREAT ATTENTION ON THIS ISSUE, AND THEY WERE HEAVILY REPRESENTED, BOTH OFFICIALLY AND UNOFFICIALLY,

IN NAIROBI, AND THEY CONTINUE TO FOLLOW UNESCO'S ACTIONS IN THE AREA WITH INTENSE SCRUTINY. IN NAIROBI, WE WERE ABLE TO GET THE DRAFT DECLARATION SET ASIDE WITH THE AGREEMENT THAT THE DG WILL SUBMIT A REVISED DRAFT DECLARATION TO THE 1978 GENERAL CONFERENCE. M'BOW'S INTERVENTION WITH THE BLACK AFRICANS WAS KEY TO THIS DEFERRAL, WHICH WE URGED, DESPITE HIS SYMPATHY WITH THOSE ELEMENTS OF THE DRAFT THAT ADVOCATED MEDIA ACTIVITY AGAINST APARTHEID AND IN FAVOR OF PROTECTION OF CULTURAL IDENTITY AND CULTURAL VALUES. IT BECAME CLEAR IN NAIROBI THAT THE LDCS ARE NOT REALLY INTERESTED IN GETTING A DECLARATION SUPPORTING GOVERNMENT CONTROL OF THE MEDIA. WHAT DOES CONCERN THEM DEEPLY IS THAT THEY ARE OVERWHELMED BY THE DEVELOPED WORLD MEDIA, AND THEY WANT TO REDRESS THIS IMBALANCE. ALTHOUGH THEY INITIALLY TENDED TO SEEK REDRESS BY CUTTING DOWN ON THE FLOW OF INFORMATION FROM THE DEVELOPED COUNTRY NEWS SOURCES, THEY SEEM AMENABLE TO THE IDEA THAT THE IMBALANCE CAN BE REDUCED BY BUILDING UP THEIR OWN MEDIA CAPACITY. IT WAS ON THE BASIS THAT UNESCO AND THE DEVELOPED WORLD WOULD JOINTLY HELP THEM TO BUILD UP THEIR OWN MEDIA INFRASTRUCTURE THAT WE WERE ABLE TO SPLIT THE LDCS OFF FROM SUPPORT OF THE SOVIET-INSPIRED DRAFT.

(3) THE DIRECTOR GENERAL, IN ADDITION TO PRODUCING A NEW DRAFT DECLARATION, IS ALSO SUPPOSED TO BE PREPARING RECOMMENDATIONS FOR UNESCO ACTION ON THE BROAD RANGE OF COMMUNICATIONS ISSUES FACING THE THIRD WORLD, AND HE IS SUPPOSED TO BE CONSULTING WITH PRIVATE MEDIA EXPERTS, AMONG OTHERS, IN DOING SO. HOWEVER, WE HAVE HAD NO RECENT WORD REGARDING HIS ACTIVITIES IN THIS AREA, AND THE AMERICAN MEDIA AND GOVERNMENT EXPERTS ARE BECOMING CONCERNED AT THIS ABSENCE OF INFORMATION.

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(4) MASS MEDIA IS ONE OF THE MOST SENSITIVE ISSUES IN U.S.-UNESCO RELATIONS AND WILL BE ONE OF OUR MAJOR CONCERNS AT THE 1978 GENERAL CONFERENCE. IF AMERICAN PRINT EDITORS BECOME CONVINCED THAT UNESCO IS IRREVERSABLY COMMITTED TO ADOPTING A FORMAL DECLARATION SUPPORTING GOVERNMENT CONTROL OF THE MEDIA, THEY WOULD BE LIKELY TO UNLEASH A STORM OF CRITICISM, BOTH IN PRINT AND THROUGH APPROACHES TO CONGRESS, THAT OUR RELATIONS WITH UNESCO MIGHT NOT SURVIVE.

(5) YOUR TALKING POINTS:

-- THE ADMINISTRATION, CONGRESS AND THE PRIVATE MEDIA ARE INTENSELY CONCERNED THAT UNESCO IS LENDING ITSELF TO THE PRODUCTION OF A FORMAL DECLARATION SUPPORTING THE CONCEPT

OF GOVERNMENT CONTROL, OR INFLUENCE, OVER THE EDITORIAL  
POLICY MAKING FUNCTIONS OF THE MEDIA.

-- WE BELIEVE THE REAL SUPPORT FOR SUCH A DECLARATION IS  
LIMITED TO THE USSR AND EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES. WE  
DO NOT BELIEVE THAT THE THIRD WORLD IS PARTICULARLY  
DESIROUS OF HAVING SUCH A DECLARATION, BUT RATHER IS  
DEEPLY CONCERNED TO REDUCE THE IMBALANCE IN THE FLOW OF  
NEWS AND OTHER FORMS OF INFORMATION. WE SYMPATHIZE WITH  
FEELING, AND BOTH THE U. S. GOVERNMENT AND THE PRIVATE  
SECTOR ARE MOVING AHEAD TO FORMULATE PROGRAMS THAT WILL  
ENABLE THE LDCS TO BUILD UP THEIR OWN MEDIA INFRASTRUCTURE  
FOR GATHERING AND DISSEMINATING INFORMATION.

-- AS AN EXAMPLE OF THE ACTION BEING TAKEN, THE GANNET  
COMPANY HAS JUST ANNOUNCED THAT IT WILL DONATE \$100,000  
TO BE USED FOR ASSEMBLING INFORMATION ON THE EXISTING  
OPPORTUNITIES IN THE UNITED STATES FOR TRAINING OF FOREIGN  
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MEDIA PERSONNEL. WE EXPECT THAT OTHER PRIVATE MEDIA  
ORGANIZATIONS WILL BE MAKING SIMILAR DONATIONS. AS WE  
INDICATED IN NAIROBI, WE WILL MAKE AN EFFORT TO PUT  
TOGETHER A MEANINGFUL PROGRAM OF ASSISTANCE IN ACCORDANCE  
WITH THE EXPRESSED WISHES OF THE THIRD WORLD MEDIA.

-- YOU MAY REMIND THE DG THAT THE WESTERN MEDIA HOPES  
TO HAVE AN INPUT INTO THE FORMULATION OF UNESCO'S OVERALL  
COMMUNICATIONS PROGRAM FOR THE THIRD WORLD, AND ASK  
WHAT PROGRESS HE IS MAKING IN DEVISING METHODS FOR USING  
THE SERVICES OF A "COMMITTEE OF WISE MEN" (I.E., PRIVATE  
MEDIA EXPERTS) TO ADVISE HIM.

#### B. ISSUES RELATING TO ISRAEL

(1) THE 1974 UNESCO GENERAL CONFERENCE TOOK THREE ANTI-  
ISRAELI ACTIONS:

-- DENIED ISRAEL'S REQUEST FOR ASSIGNMENT TO UNESCO'S  
EUROPEAN REGION, LEAVING IT COMPLETELY OUTSIDE OF ANY  
UNESCO GEOGRAPHIC REGION.

-- CRITICIZED ISRAEL FOR ITS EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL  
POLICIES IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES.

-- CRITICIZED ISRAEL FOR ITS POLICIES IN JERUSALEM THAT  
LED TO ALTERING THE HISTORICAL CHARACTER OF THE CITY,  
ALTERING THE INTERNATIONAL STATUS OF THE CITY (I.E., THE  
QUESTION OF SOVEREIGNTY), AND PERMITTING ARCHAEOLOGICAL  
EXCAVATIONS THAT ENDANGER MUSLIM MONUMENTS. THIS  
RESOLUTION, ONE OF MANY THAT CRITICIZED ISRAEL OVER THE

YEARS FOR ITS POLICIES ON JERUSALEM, ALSO REQUESTED THE  
DG TO WITHHOLD UNESCO TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE (ABOUT \$12,500  
A YEAR) FROM ISRAEL UNTIL IT SHOULD CONFORM TO ALL OF THE  
RESOLUTIONS CRITICIZING IT OVER JERUSALEM. THIS WAS THE  
FIRST TIME ISRAEL HAD BEEN SANCTIONED BY UNESCO, AS OPPOSED  
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TO BEING CRITICIZED. IN THE MATTER OF UNESCO'S JERUSALEM  
RESOLUTIONS, THE FOCUS SEEMS GENERALLY TO BE ON THE  
EXCAVATIONS RATHER THAN THE ISSUES OF SOVEREIGNTY OR  
HISTORICAL CHARACTER.

(2) IT WAS DOMESTIC U. S. REACTION TO THESE ANTI-ISRAELI  
ACTS THAT LED CONGRESS TO CUT OFF FUNDS FOR THE PAYMENT  
OF OUR UNESCO DUES FOR NEARLY TWO AND ONE-HALF YEARS. AS  
A RESULT OF M'BOW'S VIGOROUS INTERVENTION WITH THE  
AFRICANS IN SUPPORT OF OUR EFFORTS, THERE WAS SUFFICIENT  
PROGRESS IN RECTIFYING THESE ACTIONS AT NAIROBI, AND  
SUFFICIENT PROMISE OF FURTHER PROGRESS, THAT CONGRESS HAS  
RESUMED PARTIAL FUNDING, BUT THE FUNDS COULD BE CUT OFF  
AGAIN BY ANTI-ISRAEL ACTIONS.

(3) AT THE 1976 GENERAL CONFERENCE, ISRAEL WAS ADMITTED  
TO THE EUROPEAN REGION, THUS RECTIFYING ONE OF THE 1974  
ACTIONS, BUT THE RESOLUTIONS ON THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES  
AND JERUSALEM WERE REPEATED. ALTHOUGH THE OLD CITY DIGS  
HAVE NOT BEEN ACTIVE SINCE LATE 1976 AND MAY NOT BE  
RESUMED FOR SOME TIME BECAUSE OF TECHNICAL REASONS, GIVEN  
ITS DOMESTIC POLITICAL CONSTRAINTS, IT DOES NOT APPEAR  
THAT THE GOI IS PRESENTLY IN A POSITION TO TALK ABOUT  
CLOSING DOWN THE JERUSALEM EXCAVATIONS PERMANENTLY, OR  
MAKING ANY OTHER ANNOUNCED CHANGES IN ITS JERUSALEM POLICY  
THAT MIGHT HELP TO EASE TENSIONS WITH THE ARAB STATES.  
HOWEVER, IN 1976 THERE WERE INCONCLUSIVE CONTACTS BETWEEN  
THE GOI AND THE DG AIMED AT GETTING A TEAM OF HIS  
REPRESENTATIVES INTO THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES TO COLLECT  
INFORMATION ON EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL INSTITUTIONS THERE.  
THE GOI WILL NOT TAKE ANY COGNIZANCE OF THE OCCUPIED  
TERRITORIES RESOLUTIONS, AND WILL NOT UNDERTAKE ANY ACTION  
IN RESPONSE TO THOSE RESOLUTIONS, BUT IT DOES ACKNOWLEDGE  
THAT M'BOW, IN HIS CAPACITY OF UNESCO DG, HAS THE IMPLICIT  
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RIGHT TO GATHER INFORMATION ON EDUCATION AND CULTURE.  
IT WAS ON THIS BASIS THAT THE CONTACTS WERE HELD, BUT  
LAPSED LAST SEPTEMBER. THE POLITICAL SITUATION WITHIN  
ISRAEL HAS BEEN SUCH DURING THE INTERIM THAT THE DEPART-  
MENT HAS NOT FELT IT APPROPRIATE TO APPROACH THE GOI ON  
THIS ISSUE. AT AN APPROPRIATE TIME, WE MAY CONSIDER

ASKING BOTH THE DG AND THE GOI TO EXPLORE THE POSSIBILITY OF RESUMING THEIR CONTACTS.

(4) YOUR TALKING POINTS:

-- WE HOPE THAT NO ARAB-ISRAELI ISSUES ARE RAISED AT THE 103RD (SEPT.-OCT.) EXECUTIVE BOARD. THERE ARE MANY IMPORTANT ISSUES ON THE AGENDA OF THAT MEETING, E.G., HUMAN RIGHTS, AND IT WOULD BE REGRETTABLE IF ATTENTION WERE TO BE DIVERTED FROM THEM.

-- WE HOPE THAT, AT SOME POINT LATER IN THE YEAR, THE DG WILL BE ABLE TO RESUME HIS CONTACTS WITH THE GOI WITH A VIEW TO SENDING A TEAM OF HIS PERSONAL REPRESENTATIVES TO GATHER INFORMATION ON EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL INSTITUTIONS IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES.

C. HUMAN RIGHTS

(1) UNESCO'S HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVITIES IN PAST WERE LARGELY, ALTHOUGH NOT EXCLUSIVELY, RELATED TO THE RIGHT TO EDUCATION, RIGHTS OF TEACHERS, ETC. UNESCO HAS NEVER BEEN SATISFIED THAT IT WAS DOING ENOUGH TO PROMOTE RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, AND AT THE 19TH GENERAL CONFERENCE, THE DG REQUESTED THAT HE BE PROVIDED WITH GREATER RESOURCES TO DEAL WITH THESE QUESTIONS. THE CONFERENCE CALLED ON THE EXECUTIVE BOARD TO STUDY THE MATTER OF BEEFING UP UNESCO'S HUMAN RIGHTS MECHANISMS, AND THE MAY 1977 SESSION OF THE EXECUTIVE BOARD AUTHORIZED THE FORMATION OF A WORKING GROUP--OF WHICH THE U.S. WILL BE A MEMBER-- LIMITED OFFICIAL USE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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TO FORMULATE SPECIFIC PROPOSALS TO PRESENT TO THE SEPT.-OCT. 1977 SESSION.

(2) THE DG IS ALSO DRAFTING A DECLARATION ON RACE AND RACIAL PREJUDICE, BASED ON A DRAFT PRODUCED BY SEVEN "WISE MEN" WHO INCLUDED PROFESSOR CLYDE FERGUSON. AN INTERGOVERNMENTAL MEETING LATER THIS YEAR WILL DEBATE THE DG'S DRAFT WHICH, WITH WHATEVER CHANGES THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL GROUP MAKES, WILL GO TO THE 1978 GENERAL CONFERENCE FOR APPROVAL. SINCE UNESCO'S ACTION ON THIS DRAFT DECLARATION HAS BEEN LINKED TO THE UN DECADE ON RACISM, IT IS UNCERTAIN AT THIS TIME WHETHER OR NOT THE U.S. WILL PARTICIPATE IN THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL MEETING. ALTHOUGH WE CURRENTLY HAVE A POSITION THAT WE WILL NOT PARTICIPATE IN THE UN DECADE, THE QUESTION IS UNDER ACTIVE STUDY BY THE DEPARTMENT IN CONNECTION WITH OUR RE-EXAMINATION OF THE BASIC ISSUE CONCERNING OUR PARTICIPATION IN THE DECADE.

(3) YOUR TALKING POINTS:

-- WE BELIEVE THAT U.S. OBJECTIVES IN HUMAN RIGHTS CORRESPOND CLOSELY TO THOSE OF THE DG AND WE WANT TO WORK CLOSELY WITH HIM TO DEVELOP EFFECTIVE MECHANISMS FOR MOVING TOWARDS THESE OBJECTIVES.

-- WE PLAN TO SEND A LEADING HUMAN RIGHTS EXPERT TO THE WORKING GROUP, AND TO INVOLVE HEAVILY THE U.S. NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR UNESCO AND ITS NONGOVERNMENTAL HUMAN RIGHTS ADVISORS, AS WELL AS RELEVANT OFFICES OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT, IN OUR LONG-RANGE WORK ON UNESCO'S HUMAN RIGHTS PROGRAM.

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-- WE HOPE THAT, IN THE FINAL DRAFT OF THE DECLARATION ON RACE AND RACIAL PREJUDICE, THERE WILL BE NO INCLUSION OF, OR REFERENCE TO, UNGA RESOLUTION 3379 THAT EQUATED ZIONISM WITH RACISM. SUCH AN INCLUSION COULD HAVE SERIOUS CONSEQUENCES FOR OUR RELATIONS WITH UNESCO.

D. DUE PROCESS MACHINERY

(1) UNESCO HAS BEEN PLAGUED BY THE INTRODUCTION OF POLITICAL RESOLUTIONS AT SESSIONS OF THE EXECUTIVE BOARD AND THE GENERAL CONFERENCE. THESE DIVERT ATTENTION FROM PROGRAM ISSUES, INTRODUCE UNNECESSARY POLITICAL DIVISIONS INTO WHAT SHOULD BE TECHNICAL WORK, AND IN EXTREME CASES--SUCH AS THE ANTI-ISRAELI RESOLUTIONS OF 1974--CAN PRECIPITATE MAJOR CRISES.

(2) IF POLITICAL RESOLUTIONS--I.E., COMPLAINTS OF ONE MEMBER STATE AGAINST ANOTHER--COULD BE SUBJECTED TO CAREFUL SCRUTINY BY RECOGNIZED EXPERTS IN THE RELEVANT FIELDS, WHO ACT INDEPENDENTLY OF THE POLITICAL BODIES OF THE ORGANIZATION, THE ABUSIVE USE OF SUCH RESOLUTIONS COULD BE REDUCED. WE WOULD LIKE TO SEE UNESCO ADOPT A SYSTEM WHEREBY EXPERTS SELECTED FROM A STANDING PANEL WOULD EXAMINE ALLEGATIONS OF ONE MEMBER AGAINST ANOTHER, ATTEMPT TO VERIFY THE ALLEGATIONS, AND THEN PRESENT REPORTS OF THEIR FINDINGS TO THE POLITICAL BODIES, EXECUTIVE BOARD OR GENERAL CONFERENCE, WHICH WOULD DECIDE THE ACTION TO BE TAKEN. EVEN THOUGH THE DECISIONS WOULD BE MADE IN THE SAME POLITICAL BODIES THAT ARE NOW CAUSING THE TROUBLE, THEY WOULD BE MADE ON THE BASIS OF A COMPETENT REPORT THAT WOULD BE HARD TO IGNORE, AND THAT, BECAUSE OF THE AMOUNT OF TIME REQUIRED IN PREPARATION, WOULD PROVIDE AN AUTOMATIC COOLING OFF PERIOD. WE ALSO BELIEVE THAT WHEN AN ALLEGATION HAS BEEN SUBSTANTIATED, IT SHOULD BE GIVEN PUBLICITY IN ORDER TO PUT PRESSURE ON



A COUNTRY TO IMPROVE ITS LAW OR PRACTICE. THIS SYSTEM  
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PROVED HIGHLY EFFECTIVE IN THE ILO; IN FACT, ONE OF OUR  
MAJOR CRITICISMS OF THE ILO IS PRECISELY THAT IT DOES  
NOT USE THIS VERY EFFECTIVE MACHINERY IMPARTIALLY AND  
WITH RESPECT TO ALL MEMBER STATES.

(3) AT THE SEPTEMBER EXECUTIVE BOARD, WE WILL MAKE  
PROPOSALS FOR THE STUDY AND EVENTUAL IMPLEMENTATION OF  
A SYSTEM OF DUE PROCESS MACHINERY FOR THE EXAMINATION OF  
ALLEGATIONS THAT MEMBER STATES ARE VIOLATING THEIR  
OBLIGATIONS UNDER UNESCO CONVENTIONS THAT THEY HAVE  
RATIFIED, WHETHER THESE CONCERN HUMAN RIGHTS OR WHETHER  
THEY ARE BASED ON OTHER ISSUES. THIS MACHINERY WOULD  
COMPLEMENT PRESENT OR PROPOSED HUMAN RIGHTS MACHINERY.

(4) YO TALKING POINTS

-- AT THE SEPT.-OCT. EXECUTIVE BOARD SESSION, WE EXPECT  
TO INTRODUCE A REQUEST THAT THE BOARD STUDY THE QUESTION  
OF ESTABLISHING DUE PROCESS MACHINERY.

-- WE WILL MAKE ONLY GENERAL RECOMMENDATIONS, AND WILL  
NOT PRESENT A DETAILED PLAN, SINCE OUR OBJECT IS TO  
DETERMINE THE SENTIMENT OF THE BOARD IN PRINCIPLE. WE  
WOULD HOPE THAT THE BOARD WOULD AGREE TO STUDY THE  
PROPOSALS WE MAKE WITH A VIEW TO MAKING RECOMMENDATIONS  
TO THE 104TH EXECUTIVE BOARD NEXT MAY.

-- WE WILL PROPOSE CONSIDERATION OF THE USE OF INDEPENDENT,  
OUTSIDE EXPERTS SELECTED BY AND RESPONSIBLE TO THE  
DIRECTOR GENERAL, IN VERIFYING ALLEGATIONS, AND THE USE  
OF UNRESTRICTED EXECUTIVE BOARD OR CONFERENCE REPORTS IN  
RECORDING SUBSTANTIATED ALLEGATIONS--I.E., PUBLICITY.

E. AMERICAN PERSONNEL  
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(1) NEITHER THE ADMINISTRATION NOR CONGRESS HAS EVER FELT  
THAT THE U.S. HAD A SUFFICIENTLY HIGH REPRESENTATION OF  
OUR NATIONS IN UNESCO. CONGRESS IS UNRELENTING IN ITS  
ATTENTION TO THIS SITUATION, AND IN FACT IS STEPPING UP  
ITS PRESSURE ON US. YET EVERY TIME WE HAVE REPORTED TO  
CONGRESS IN THE PAST FEW YEARS, WE HAVE HAD TO REPORT A  
LOWER NUMBER OF AMERICANS EMPLOYED BY UNESCO.

(2) WHILE WE ARE NOT, AND NEVER WERE, SEEKING TO HOLD A  
PERCENTAGE OF POSTS TIED DIRECTLY TO OUR PERCENTAGE OF

CONTRIBUTIONS, WE ARE NOT SATISFIED THAT, BY ANY STANDARD, WE HAVE A FAIR SHARE OF POLICY INFLUENCING POSITIONS. WE INTEND TO KEEP SUPPLYING HIGH-QUALITY NOMINATIONS, AND TO KEEP WHAT PRESSURE WE CAN ON THE DG TO INCREASE THE NUMBER OF AMERICANS IN UNESCO, WITHIN THE LIMITS OF THE OFFICIALLY ACCEPTED UNESCO GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION QUOTA SYSTEM.

(3) M'BOW RECENTLY TOLD PROFESSOR CLYDE FERGUSON THAT HE WOULD LIKE TO HAVE MORE BLACK AMERICANS IN UNESCO. THIS MAY PROVIDE US WITH AN OPENING TO PUT SPECIAL PRESSURE ON M'BOW. OUR RECRUITMENT EFFORTS WILL BE RESPONSIVE TO M'BOW'S INTEREST, AND, IN FACT, WE ARE AT THIS TIME ATTEMPTING TO RECRUIT A FRENCH-SPEAKING BLACK AMERICAN FOR A P-4 POST IN DEALING WITH SPORTS EDUCATION.

(3) YOUR TALKING POINTS:

-- WITH THE RESUMPTION OF OUR PAYMENTS AND WITH A RENEWED COMMITMENT BY THE U.S. TO PLAY A POSITIVE AND CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE IN UNESCO, WE HAVE A RENEWED INTEREST IN PLACING AMERICANS IN UNESCO, BOTH AT HEADQUARTERS AND IN THE FIELD.

-- WE WILL CONTINUE TO SUPPLY THE DG WITH NOMINEES OF LIMITED OFFICIAL USE  
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HIGH QUALITY, AND WILL ASSIST HIM IN ANY WAY WE CAN TO FIND THE KIND OF AMERICAN TALENT HE IS SEEKING.

-- WE ARE AWARE THAT HE IS INTERESTED IN GETTING MORE BLACK AMERICANS INTO UNESCO, AND WE WILL PAY CLOSE ATTENTION TO THIS INTEREST IN OUR RECRUITING.

#### F. U. S. PAYMENTS

(1) THE CASE-BINGHAM AMENDMENT TO THE FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT (DECEMBER 1974) CAUSED A SUSPENSION OF THE PAYMENT OF OUR ASSESSED CONTRIBUTIONS TO UNESCO UNTIL OCTOBER 1976, WHEN CONGRESS ALLOWED US TO PAY \$3.5 MILLION TO REGAIN OUR RIGHT TO VOTE AT THE 1976 GENERAL CONFERENCE. IN JUNE 1977, CONGRESS AUTHORIZED AND APPROPRIATED \$43.1 MILLION, WHICH HAS BEEN PAID TO UNESCO AND WHICH BRINGS US UP TO DECEMBER 31, 1976. THERE IS \$17 MILLION FOR UNESCO IN THE REGULAR FY 1978 LEGISLATION, WHICH, EXCEPT FOR APPROVAL OF THE JOINT CONFERENCE REPORT BY BOTH HOUSES, HAS BEEN CLEARED FOR THE PRESIDENT'S SIGNATURE. OUR UNESCO ASSESSMENT FOR CY 1977 IS \$27 MILLION, AND FOR CY 1978 IS ALSO \$27 MILLION. THE \$17 MILLION IN THE FY 78 LEGISLATION, IF APPROVED AND PAID TO UNESCO, WILL BE APPLIED BY THE ORGANIZATION TO OUR CY 1977

ASSESSMENT. THERE IS NO OTHER REQUEST FOR FUNDS FOR UNESCO CURRENTLY BEFORE CONGRESS.

(2) CONGRESS IS BECOMING INCREASINGLY INSISTENT THAT ALL UN TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE SHOULD BE FUNDED BY UNDP AND NO TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE SHOULD BE FUNDED FROM THE ASSESSED BUDGETS OF ANY OTHER UN AGENCY. WE WILL BE UNDER CONTINUING PRESSURE TO OPPOSE THE INCLUSION OF ANY TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE IN ANY SPECIALIZED AGENCY BUDGET LIMITED OFFICIAL USE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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OTHER THAN UNDP. THERE IS NO PRECISE AND WIDELY AGREED UPON DEFINITION OF TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE, AS OPPOSED TO TECHNICAL COOPERATION, BUT THE BASIC INTENT OF CONGRESS IS CLEAR EVEN IN THE ABSENCE OF SUCH A DEFINITION. UNESCO OF ALL THE MAJOR SPECIALIZED AGENCIES HAS ONE OF THE LOWEST PERCENTAGES OF ITS ASSESSED BUDGET DEVOTED TO TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE, AND DEPENDING ON THE DEFINITION USED, MAY ALLOCATE AS LITTLE AS ONE AND ONE-HALF PERCENT OF ITS BUDGET TO TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE. WE MAY BE FORCED TO OPPOSE EVEN THIS SMALL ALLOCATION, AND WILL CERTAINLY HAVE TO OPPOSE ANY INCREASE IN THE USE OF UNESCO ASSESSED BUDGET FUNDS FOR TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE.

(3) YOUR TALKING POINTS

-- ALTHOUGH THE BILL PROVIDING \$17 MILLION FOR UNESCO HAS NOT BECOME LAW, WE ARE VIRTUALLY CERTAIN THAT THE \$17 MILLION FIGURE WILL BE APPROVED BY THE PRESIDENT.

-- THIS MONEY CANNOT, AT THE EARLIEST, BE PAID BEFORE OCTOBER 1, 1977, AND WE CAN NOT SPECULATE AT THIS TIME ON THE DECISIONS THAT THE TREASURY DEPARTMENT MAY MAKE ON THE TIMING OF THE PAYMENT, OR OF THE SPACING OF PAYMENTS SHOULD THE OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET INSIST ON APPORTIONING THIS PAYMENT INTO SEVERAL SEGMENTS.

-- CONGRESS IS INSISTING MORE AND MORE FIRMLY THAT ALL FUNDING FOR UN TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE SHOULD BE CONTAINED IN THE UNDP BUDGET, AND THAT NO TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE SHOULD BE FUNDED FROM THE ASSESSED BUDGETS OF THE SPECIALIZED AGENCIES. WE WILL BE UNDER PRESSURE TO OPPOSE THE INCLUSION OF ANY TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE FUNDING IN UNESCO'S ASSESSED BUDGET, EVEN THOUGH THE PERCENTAGE IS MODEST, AND WE FACE THE DEFINITE PROSPECT THAT CONGRESS MAY REFUSE TO APPROPRIATE FUNDS FOR THAT PROPORTION OF OUR U.S. ASSESSMENT THAT IT THINKS IS ACTUALLY BEING USED FOR LIMITED OFFICIAL USE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE. VANCE

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## Message Attributes

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**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** n/a  
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**Enclosure:** n/a  
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**TAGS:** AORG, US, UNESCO, (YOUNG, ANDREW J), (M'BOW, AMADOU MAHTAR)  
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**Review Markings:**  
Margaret P. Grafeld  
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EO Systematic Review  
22 May 2009  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009